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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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AARON M. POWELL, Editor.

"RECONSTRUCTED" TERRORISM AND SLAVERY IN NORTH CAROLINA.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Special Editorial Contributor.

For rates of Advertising and Club terms see Fourth page.

"A LOST LEADER."

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

How applicable to the case of William H. Seward the words addressed to one of the fallen spirits in *Milton's Paradise Lost*!

"Then he began : but oh, how fallen ! how changed From him in the happy realing of light, Clothed with transparent brightness, didst outshine My thoughts !"

Though never an avowed Abolitionist, nor disposed to deny, disturb, or evade any of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, Mr. Seward, during the main portion of his public career, up to 1860, so encouraged the Abolitionists by his timely acts and stirring words, so explicitly announced the conflict between slavery and freedom to be irrepressible, and so impressively appealed to "the higher law" as against all unjust human governments, that, of all our men, it was his singular distinction to be the most hated and feared by the Southern slave oligarchy. On all occasions, in Congress and out of it, he was the target at which they hurled their most deadly missiles. Every Southern representative him as though less than *monstrum horrendum, informans, cunctas ad mortem*. In all that section of country he was an ogre more dreaded than "an eagle with banners." Though highly appreciating and always warmly applauding whatever fell from his lips or inhered in his acts favorable to the Anti-Slavery cause, we never fully understood why he so excessively affrighted the South ; for no man spoke with more calmness, or more carefully elaborated his speeches, or kept himself more sedulously within the bounds of simple and exact truth. Perhaps it was partly because he was seen to be "the bright parisiatic star" at the North, steadily rising to the zenith of political power, in whose culmination (by his election to the Presidency of the United States, as then seemed an almost sure event) disastrous influences might be shed upon their impaled "peculiar institution." Or, possibly, it was owing to a trial excited by those words of doom, "the higher law," "the irrepressible conflict," thundering in their ears, and stinging their guilty consciences. At sight of him they exclaimed, as did Macbeth in presence of Banquo's ghost,

"Approach like the rugged Russian bear,

The arm'd chiroeos, or the Hyrcan tiger,

Take any shape but that, and thy foulerves

Shall never tremble. Hence, horrible shadow !"

All this trepidation was vastly disproportionate to the object and the occasion ; explainable only by that state of guilty insecurity which makes the thief to fear each bush an officer."

Mr. Seward expected, beyond a peradventure, to be the Republican nominee for the Presidency at the Chicago Convention in June, 1860. Never were any politician's prospects of success fairer ; never were they more suddenly blighted. Though at first receiving a powerful support in the Convention, Mr. Seward had, to stand aside, and the election fell on Abraham Lincoln. From that time he became a sadly altered man, began to court Southern favor, was reticent on the subject of slavery, openly denied his doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict," failed any longer to discern "the higher law," and, as the result of his apostasy, was—to borrow a strong figure—

"Buried headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,

With bottomless combustion, down

To bottomless perdition."

In other words, he has ever since been falling, falling, till he has reached abysmal depths. His old antagonist foes have ceased to assail him ; his multitudinous friends and admirers, in days of yore, stand alienated from him, lambasting his memory, and regarding his recovery as hopeless. Whiskey, corruption, bribery, or usurpation, has marked the course of Andrew Johnson since his ill-starred election to the Presidency. Mr. Seward has endorsed it to the letter. He is by far the more guilty of the two. He has sinned against light never vouchsashed to the half-civilized Tennessee ; he has become recreant to principles which the former never professed. In all the loyal ranks there is now "none so poor as to do him reverence."

The latest exhibition of Mr. Seward's abasement is to be found in his recent letter to Mr. Motley, minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, in which he officially calls Mr. Motley to account, on the authority of an epistle received from "a citizen of the United States" for having, in the privacy of his home-circle, first "expressed his disgust at the President's whole conduct," second, exhibited his contempt for American Democracy, and "loudly proclaimed that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection." The rejoinder of Mr. Motley is a model of dignified composition, and meets the proffered impeachment without circumspection or evasion. He admits that in his views and feelings, in the matter of reconstruction, and in this he proves himself to be a faithful representative of the American people abroad. As to the allegation that he despises American Democracy, and considers an English gentleman as the model of human perfection (!), he blushes while he denounces "so pitiful a fabrication." He appeals to all his knowledge in proof that a more fervent believer in the civil authorities, neglecting no effort to arrest him, is the military, and he is now living undisturbed in Beaufort county.

"This murderer, Carney, has in his possession a colored boy, named Joseph Wiggin, the son of a respectable negro man, and he refuses to give him up. The civil authorities protest that they are afraid to arrest him or have anything to do with Carney for the relief of the enslaved negro."

Fourteen months ago this man Roddick Carney perpetrated two unprovoked murders. Nearly fourteen months since he murdered a lieutenant of your army engaged in the performance of duty, and if the civil authorities are discharging their duties, if there be no place where, why in the name of law and justice is he living unmolested and respected in the community in which he dwells ?

But let me read another extract from this same communication :

"Near Hillsborough, in Orange county, in November of 1865, a freedman who had raised a small quantity of corn invited a few of his friends to assist him in shucking it. In the evening while the party were singing and dancing, a rebel named — C — heard them armed himself with a gun, went to the freedman's house, and with oaths and curses demanded to know what they were doing. The freedmen, frightened, attempted to escape, when he deliberately shot one of their number, killing him almost instantly. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of 'accidental homicide,' and then the master rests."

Do not these statements portray a capital state of peace ?

My informant is a cool, courageous, business man, a man of veracity, upon whose statement and judgment I confidently rely. He indicates the reason for these crimes and this impunity in a brief passage, as follows :

"It must be understood that four-fifths of the white population are fanatically devoted to the cause of the rebellion, that the present so-called State government is composed entirely of men who have, in one form or another, proved their devotion to secession and rebellion, and in whose creed the cardinal plank is contempt for Yankees and 'niggers' and hate for the government of the United States. The 'Howard Amendment' stood, from the first, no chance of acceptance by a Legislature, most of the members of which were elected on their rebel war record, after much ranting declamation in which the candidates boasted of having carried the rebel flag in triumph from Big Bethel to Bentonville, vying with each other in vaunting what they had done to destroy the national government and dash the country with blood."

"As a matter of fact there is no such thing as an impartial administration of justice by the courts between whites and blacks, rebels and Union men ; the practice of the judges, justices, the lawyers, and of the juries in favor of the rebel white and against the Union men and the negroes forbids it."

Mr. Speaker, I cannot better illustrate the power and the influence of civil authorities so eulogized by the gentlemen from Ohio (Mr. Le Blond) than by asking the Clerk to read a short extract from the same letter of my correspondent. It relates to the Governor of one of the pretended States :

The Clerk read, as follows :

"As a sample of the carelessness of Gov. Worth in his official statements I may mention the laws

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1867.

WHOLE NO. 1,395

governing the apprenticeship of children in North Carolina. In his message to the General Assembly at the commencement of the session (November 19, 1866), he admits that in the case of apprentices there is a distinction made by the law of the State between children of purely white parents and children having some faint trace of negro blood, for many who were two years ago slaves are as white as their former owners.

"One month later (the 13th December) he tells the President and Gen. Howard that the law of North Carolina makes no distinction on account of color or race in the apprenticeship of children.

"And still another month later (the 26th of January, 1867), when the cry of parents whose children had been torn from them and bound to cruel and hard taskmasters became so loud that the authorities could not shut their ears, and when the children, thus ruthlessly thrust into a slavery worse than that of one master, starving, freezing, sickening, and dying under the cruel treatment of their chivalrous masters and high-born mistresses, at last escaped told their piteous stories to officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, then, and not until then, the General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act to amend the fifth chapter of the revised code, entitled 'apprentices,' which act purports to repeal all laws discriminating between whites and blacks in the apprenticeship of children ; yet this same act in substance declares that the indentures of all children, hitherto illegitimately apprenticeship shall be declared legal and valid ; and this when it must be well known to the members of the General Assembly of North Carolina that all the children illegally born were the children of negro parents.

"Grant that this law make no discrimination between whites and blacks, no one who is familiar with the action of the courts in the rebel States can for a moment suppose that there will not be, in the future as in the past, a discrimination made against the negro."

"There are hundreds of cases which might be cited to prove all that I have asserted concerning the action of the courts in this matter of apprenticeship negro children. I will mention one or two, which will serve as examples.

"Near Tarboro two children, girls, one eleven and the other thirteen years of age, were last Sumner apprenticed to their former owner. The girls mother had formerly been whipped to death under the orders of the wife of the man to whom they are now apprenticed, then the master and owner of the murdered woman. Recent information shows that these children, who are still held as apprentices, are nearly starved and not half clad ; the only garment they were, while picking cotton in the inclement weather of December, was a straight gown, short in the skirt, and with short sleeves, with neither shoes, stockings, nor bonnets.

"There is no mitigating fact of that kind in the report of the 'Memphis riots' committee. The gentlemen from Maine (Mr. Pike) has given us a picture of the condition of the Union men, soldiers and citizens, white and black, of South Carolina ; and, sir, the hideous details of the sacking of Badajos are exceeded by the atrocities reported to us by the committee to inquire into the conduct of negro children in this State during the past eight months in which the State has been protecting the children have been respected by the committee.

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by the mercantile classes. Garrison's *Liberator* was a special object of their venom. From December, 1860, to April, 1861, there was a terrible excitement. Bell-Everett clubs in Boston; sustained by Mayor Wightman, in command of the police, competed with the merchants, "a respectable mob in broadcloth," in breaking up meetings held in Tremont Temple, to celebrate the anniversary of the death of John Brown. Bullies and blackguards emerged from their dens, and rum-shops vomited forth their loafers to the call of capitalists, uttered through the columns of a trade and slavery belotted press. Wendell Phillips could not walk the streets without fear of the assassination which was tacitly encouraged by handbills posted in public streets, asking, "Followers of John Brown, will you allow this man, this incendiary, to speak in a public meeting?" And his deliberate murder was prevented only by a faithful body-guard of determined friends, who watched day and night to save him from the tender mercies of the howling mob, called into life by business men.

In New York city, too, the mercantile classes were equally on the alert to save the South. They were the ones who loaded the Southern mails with assurances that Northern capital would prevent a rupture, and would oblige the North to submit to the demands of the South. So strong was the money power there, that Mayor Wood was encouraged to recommend to the city government, on January 6, '61, the secession of that municipality.

In Philadelphia, a conciliation meeting was held, presided over by Mayor Henry, December 10, '60, at which all the speakers portrayed the wrongs of the South, and advocated that the North implicitly yield to the South. Mayor Henry took the pains to caution his hearers to discard "all sordid and self-interested views," which was a virtual confession that trade and business were the motives that prompted the assembling of the peace-mongers. Growing out of this meeting, was the suppression of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, by George W. Curtis, in New York, one of our most popular publishers. Even a mind discerned by a man who knew how to speak without excitement, could not be allowed in the trade-debauched city of brother low, for fear of offending the South.

Greeley says, in his history:

"As trade fell off, and work in the cities and manufacturing villages was withered at the breath of the Southern sirocco, the heart of the North seemed to sink within her, and the charter elections at Boston, Lowell, Roxbury, Charlestown, Worcester, etc., in Massachusetts, and at Hudson, etc., in New York, which took place early in December, 1860, showed a striking and general reduction of Republican strength. What must and could be done to pacify the deeply offended and almost hopelessly alienated South, was the current theme of conversation, and of newspaper discussion."

It was a mob of business men that persecuted the pioneers of the anti-slavery movement, and dragged Wm. Lloyd Garrison through our streets with a halter around his neck. In '76, business men tried to avert the storm of revolution, and kept up their intimacy to the last with British officials.

True, there were many merchants also who proved noble and honorable exceptions to these sweeping charges; but, compared with the whole class, they were a mere minority. As a body, capitalists are always a drag upon public sentiment, when institutions are to be remodeled. They dread any legislation that may interfere with their money-making. What care they how cotton and sugar and rice were raised, so long as black slaves produced yellow gold? If they could have decided upon the demands of slavery, there would have been no war in '60, but there would have been slavery eternal and perpetual. The North would have been a mere province and dependency of the South, and Massachusetts a foot-ball of bowie-knife politicians, whose first legislation would have razed Bunker Hill Monument—a hateful memento of freedom's battles; and when Toombs called the roll of his slaves upon its ruins, there would have been enacted wholesale hangings of anti-slavery men and all others who should have resisted.

But the war came. Sumter's guns aroused them. They saw that the South was in earnest. They learned that there was something else besides boy's play ahead. They found confronting them a more stalwart enemy to fight than a small handful of fanatic Abolitionists. They must decide, and that quickly. If the North should be defeated, they knew that their property would be confiscated, because found in the country of an enemy to the South. There was but one chance for their salvation. They sustained the North, and lent their money to the government. They knew they could not more than lose it if the nation should become bankrupt; and they had sense enough to understand, that, if they did not come to the rescue, they would lose both their money and their liberty. It paid for them to be patriotic, and thus they took advantage of the wild enthusiasm of the masses who enlisted to do the fighting, and staid in their bank-parlors figuring U. S. bonds at 7 3/4-10 per cent. They promised no soldier after the war should be allowed to suffer; and now we find maimed patriots begging in steam-cars, and playing on hand-organs in our cities, to obtain the most meager and scanty subsistence.

Granted, that these men, in many instances, were liberal, and nobly responded during the war to appeals made to relieve the wants of soldiers through the various commissions established.

Many of them gave freely of their means to other benevolent enterprises. But these circumstances do not relieve them of the charge, that they exhibited profound stupidity before the war, in purchasing Southern friendships and trade at the expense of common honesty and patriotism.

As a class, what did capitalists and brokers do during the war? Did they not "jump" gold up repeatedly to the highest rates, the effect of which was to enhance prices, and bring starvation almost to thousands of the poor, before labor would adjust itself to the new conditions? Have they not formed gigantic "rings" which, all through the war, by the inflation of prices, caused great distress among all classes? The favorite trick was to withdraw money from the market, by borrowing all they could find; locking it up, calling in their outstanding loans, and while their safes were almost bursting with gold, and paper representing it, stand back with stolid face, and wait the crash. They knew that this course would ruin small traders; but what was that to them? Their business was to make money. To do this they must force holders of property to sell at panic prices. This point reached, then they would enter the market, and buy up for a rise. Not content with the small traders and property holders, they fastened their sudden eyes on the U. S. Treasury, and boldly defied government to lower the price of gold, and succeeded.

In directing your attention to the annexed outline of the Programme, the Sub-Committees appointed to arrange for the proposed Conference, would be glad to receive an intimation of your intention to be present, or to forward any written statement or documents relating to any of the subjects referred to, as it is considered of the utmost importance that many of those who have been identified with, or who are interested in the advancement of the Anti-Slavery cause, should on this occasion give their co-operation, either personally or by communication.

You are respectfully requested to send an answer as soon as possible, but not later than the 1st of April.

On behalf of the Committees of these Societies, we have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1867.

Wendell Phillips's

SPEECHES AND LECTURES, a handsomely-bound volume, 562 pages, with steel portrait, will be sent, post-paid, to any person renewing a subscription for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and sending the name of one new subscriber (\$6), or for two new subscribers, \$3 a year.

A \$100 U. S. Bond

(5-20, with 6 per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold), will be paid to the person who sends, by or before July 1st, the largest number of paid-in subscriptions for the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD for 1867; also 75 cents commission for each yearly subscription, in addition to the Bond.

WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

RECONSTRUCTION.

Congress has unexpectedly agreed upon and adopted a Reconstruction bill. It is the Sherman substitute for the Stevens Military bill, with some important additions. The bill, as amended, will be found in another column. As we write, a veto from the President is hourly expected. It is thought that the bill, if vetoed, will be promptly passed again by more than a two-thirds vote. Though improved, the bill is still fundamentally wrong, and we hope may not become a law. If adopted, it will settle nothing definitely. It extends an opportunity to the people of the rebellious districts to reorganize as loyal States, and opportunity they have all along had, but have chosen to misimprove. It is a matter that should not be left optional with them. To leave it as left by that bill, is to prolong misrule, discourage and dishearten the best friends of the Federal Government in the South, to embarrass the business interests of the whole country, and to trifle with the sufferings of the negro, and the white loyalists.

The Sub-Committee would respectfully request that all communications on the subjects which are to occupy the attention of the Conference—many of which will require translation—should be sent in to the Secretaries not later than the 15th of May.

Special delegates from local Anti-Slavery Societies, or from particular localities, will receive, on presentation of their credentials, a card of membership.

The Sub-Committee presume that many persons in the United States and other distant countries, are likely to visit Europe during the great Paris Exhibition. It is submitted that advantage might be taken of this circumstance to secure them as delegates, and is hoped the friends of the cause will make an earnest effort to impart to the Conference the character of an international Anti-Slavery representative assembly.

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French engage system.

SLAVERY.

Under this section, the present question will be discussed, with special reference to the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, in the transmarine possessions, and the Spanish colonies.

III.

THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

Under this head, it is intended to publish papers submitting the results of emancipation in the Spanish, French and Dutch Colonies, and the information relating to the treatment, condition and prospects of the Freedmen in the United States of America.

* MR. CHAMEROVZOV, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has issued the following letter, which accompanys the above Circular, designed to call attention to the same, and interest in the proposed Conference, among the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause:

CIRCULAR LETTER.

27 NEW BROAD STREET, E.C., LONDON, January 17, 1867.

I beg to call your attention to the following Circular and outline of Programme relating to the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, and to request you to be so kind as to inform me whether you propose to attend it.

As there is every probability of a considerable influx of visitors, the Sub-Committee have arranged with Mr. Cook, the well-known publisher, to print a pamphlet of those members of the Conference, who may desire him to secure for them suitable accommodation.

The Sub-Committee would respectfully request that all communications on the subjects which are to occupy the attention of the Conference—many of which will require translation—should be sent in to the Secretaries not later than the 15th of May.

Special delegates from local Anti-Slavery Societies, or from particular localities, will receive, on presentation of their credentials, a card of membership.

The Sub-Committee presume that many persons in the United States and other distant countries, are likely to visit Europe during the great Paris Exhibition. It is submitted that advantage might be taken of this circumstance to secure them as delegates, and is hoped the friends of the cause will make an earnest effort to impart to the Conference the character of an international Anti-Slavery representative assembly.

I am, yours, very truly,

L. A. CHAMEROVZOV, Secretary.

An International Anti-Slavery Conference, such as is contemplated, will at the present stage of the cause of emancipation, be timely and important.

Where chattel slavery is still fully recognized and upheld, the influence of such a gathering, through the voice which will go out from it, will be most potential for good. Scarcely less valuable will it be, if comprehensive and thorough in its testimonies, as a help to equal enfranchisement for the victims of slavery where emancipation has been proclaimed, but where the spirit of slavery is still alive and active, in the proposition that it is not forcibly restrained, in murderous persecution and cruel oppression of its victims, as in our own country. The horrible Jamaica massacre, and the condition of affairs it has brought to light, after so long a period had elapsed following the nominal overthrow of slavery, without equal enfranchisement, and due guarantees of protection for the victim race, has demonstrated, if evidence was needed, that the abrogation of the property relation only, is but half the conflict, that much more is indispensable to the triumph of freedom in the true and noble sense. With us it is the common expression that slavery has been abolished by proclamation and the Constitutional Amendment. Yet the spirit of slavery is still everywhere terribly alive throughout the South, restrained only by military power, and but partially by that. In an eloquent speech, delivered recently in the House of Representatives, an extract of which we give elsewhere, Judge KELLEY presented and vouched for the following, which illustrates the present state of the negro in North Carolina and throughout the South:

GOV. BROWNLAW of Tennessee, was renominated for Governor of that State on the 22d ult. He addressed the following letter to the Convention:

"I say to you, in all candor, that I have not sought nomination. My physical debility renders me wholly unable to speak in a canvass, and if on this account it should seem to you that my nomination would be doing injustice to the cause, I shall cheerfully acquiesce in your judgment."

"Nominally at the head of the Federal Government, the President has become a mere man of straw—influent, incompetent, negative, and besieged by men of the South and North, and advised and influenced by the worst of men in the country. Without a shadow in either House of Congress, with two-thirds against him in both Houses, so as to set at defiance his wishes, with a single Northern Governor sustaining his insane policy, and without the endorsement of one loyal State. What a pitiful attitude for the Chief Magistrate of so great a Republic."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON lectured in the Brooklyn Fraternity Course, in the Academy of Music, on Tuesday evening last. His lecture embraced a review of our present national situation, and a very earnest demand for the immediate impeachment and removal of Andrew Johnson. We hope to publish the lecture next week.

HON. T. D. ELIOT will please accept our thanks for a copy of the Report of the New Orleans Congressional Committee of Investigation.

We are indebted to Miss HOLLOWAY for the following extract of a letter from Miss EMILY BOWLAND.

Miss Bowland, for several years past, has devoted herself to remarkable heroism and self-sacrifice to the care and education of the freedmen. In a letter dated Sherwood's, Ceylon Co., N. Y., Feb. 8, she gives an account of a colony she has established in Virginia. She says:

"I have bought a tract of land in Northumberland Co., Va., at the mouth of the Potomac River, and have colonized there 'Uncle Moses' and two other families.

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known as first-class, in any city on this continent or Europe, can be named where these articles are not furnished to guests; and that the petitioners, professing to be loyal, law-abiding citizens, devoted to the government and to the good order of society, are professedly convinced that an entire prohibition of wine and spirituous liquors to their guests would destroy the reputation of their houses; bring the city of Boston into discredit among travellers, both those for pleasure and for business, and so cause injury to the community, no less than to themselves. They therefore pray that such changes may be made in the laws regarding the sales of wines and spirituous liquors, as shall allow them to supply the wants of the guests of their houses.

France tried free speech and failed. France tried a President and failed. France tried free speech and failed. France tried free press and failed. Shall we, therefore, give up liberty, and a republican form of government, and free speech, and free press, and universal suffrage?

This movement has probably been made under advice of counsel. It is certainly ingenious, and will seem forcible to people in the habit of drinking spirituous liquors, especially to those of them who consider their own gratification as of more importance than the welfare of the community. If this class shall prove sufficiently numerous in our Legislature to grant the power of these petitioners, I think the next Legislature may see a petition from the Managers of Theatres in Boston, to this effect:—that, whereas they have carefully studied the wants, customs and tastes of the male frequenters of theatres of the very first class; and whereas the prejudices of a portion of the community abominated, some years ago, in this city, the theatrical appearance called “the third row”; and whereas this appearance is so essential to the character of a first-class theatre that no theatre of this grade in New York or New Orleans or Baltimore, or in England, or on the continent of Europe, can be found without it; and whereas the absence of this arrangement will bring the city of Boston into discredit among travellers, and so cause injury to the community; and whereas they, the petitioners, are loyal, law-abiding citizens, devoted to the good order of society; therefore they humbly pray that such changes may be made in the laws concerning prostitutes “as shall allow them to supply the wants of the guests of their houses.”

If there be any objection to the granting of these two petitions, the actual one and the supposed one, it is surely that vice and evil most pernicious to society as well as to individuals, are thereby encouraged and manufactured; and what is that compared to the satisfaction we should have in supporting “first-class” hotels and theatres, as these are understood in “the other great cities of this continent, and in all the cities of Europe?”

NORTH.

THE THREE OLIGARCHIES.

BY JAMES REDPATH.

Mr first article has been so widely denounced, and its fundamental ideas so quickly endorsed by eminent authorities, that I am encouraged to believe that the day of the death of our three organized oligarchies is at hand. The New York *Times* has quoted it to describe “the progress of anarchy”; but Gen. Banks has sanctioned its account of the character and tendency of the regular army. He is unwilling, and justly unwilling, to trust to the army the government of the South. He declares that it would sympathize with the oligarchy rather than with the people of the revolted region. No man dares to deny it. Is this institution, then a fit and proper appendage of a republican government?

It is alleged that the election of Supreme Judges by the people would degrade the Bench. I answer—Tandy; I point to Chase. The only man whose election by the people would have been beyond dispute, is that illustrious judge whom we have trusted in almost every representative capacity, and who is as true to-day as when he was first chosen to an office in the gift of the popular electors. The best type of an appointed judge is the man whose name is honored in every slave-master's court in the rebellious States. And it is not true that judges are now appointed without respect to party and politics. They are, and ever have been, the representatives of the dominant political party of the nation.

Let them be chosen for not more than ten years,

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Oligarchy is the rule of the people. It implies an absolute equality of rights. Any political institution that is founded on another basis—whatever its name, or place, or pretense—is an oligarchical organization.

The House of Lords represents a class. It is an oligarchy. The House of Commons represents certain classes and interests. It is an oligarchy. Both are need to exist. There is no truly national democratic body among civilized peoples except the House of Representatives at Washington. Even it is not yet wholly a democratic body. The majority of the black citizens of the North are excluded from it. The representatives from Tennessee have no right there. They were chosen by neither the whites nor the blacks of that State; but by a portion of the people—a portion of oligarchy. Women have no representation anywhere. For the moment, indeed, the House of Representatives is not even a national body. The South has no voice in its deliberations—neither the loyal nor the rebel South; for no late rebel would sanction its present course, and every negro recoils at its infamous proposition to put them in the power of their former masters. Judging from the tariff bills, indeed, we would think that a new Cotton Power has arisen: not the cotton-growing, but the cotton-spinning power, and one that is quite as selfish as its Southern predecessor!

New York, February 18, 1867.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS ENTERPRISE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Last week we had excellent Conventions in Troy and Newburg. The Troy *Times* sent you, will speak for that city, and we were quite obliged to that journal for its liberality towards us in various ways. Indeed, no institution in the country is improving faster in its estimate of the value of progressive ideas than the Press. Nor is that remark much less true of one department of it than another. And when suffrage is at length extended to all classes of citizens equally throughout the country, everybody will wonder that so slight a change should have cost so much, and been so long delayed.

And the time shall come when the world will wonder no man will be safe in uttering his convictions in those States.

Beside all the enormities of the measure, it is an insult to the loyal men of the recently-rebellious States. It says, in effect, that no loyal man can be found in all that region of country capable of discharging the duties of civil office. We all know that is not true. Such men as T. D. Duran, of New Orleans; A. J. Hamilton and Gov. Pease, of Texas; A. Griffin, of Alabama, and one hundred others I could name, are as fit to be governors and members of Congress as any man in the XXXIXth Congress. In truth, had these men been members of that body, much of its folly would have been prevented and much of its insanity and imbecility would have been kept from public exhibition.

It is to be hoped that the Senate will defeat the Military bill, and pass the Louisiana bill. The Louisiana bill meets the approval of Southern loyal men, and the Military bill receives their bitter denunciation. Gov. Hamilton made the most eloquent speech against it on Saturday evening last I ever heard him make. It was an effort that would have been creditable to any first-class statesman in the better days of our Republic.

C. E. Moss.

squier in that Territory would have been the political equal of a hundred Pennsylvanians.

Was there anything in the rotten borough system of England more unequal and unjust than this apportionment? Nothing. I predict that, as the rotten borough system of England disappeared before agitation, so will this rotten State system of America disappear.

What need is there for a Senate? I see none what-

ever. It is objected that France tried the system of a single chamber and failed. France tried liberty and failed. France tried a republic and failed. France tried a President and failed. France tried free speech and failed. France tried free press and failed. Shall we, therefore, give up liberty, and a republican form of government, and free speech, and free press, and universal suffrage?

This movement has probably been made under advice of counsel. It is certainly ingenious, and will seem forcible to people in the habit of drinking spirituous liquors, especially to those of them who consider their own gratification as of more importance than the welfare of the community. If this class shall prove sufficiently numerous in our Legislature to grant the power of these petitioners, I think the next Legislature

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But I have already exceeded my allotted space, and I prefer at present to sketch the outline of my thought rather than to enlarge on it.

Boston, February 12, 1867.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of the Standard:

There are objectionable features in the so-called “Military bill,” recently passed by the House of Representatives.

The principal objections applying to this bill apply with equal force, and for similar reasons, to all plans of temporary government for the South, yet proposed. The vital defect of these schemes is, that the intentions of the law-making power may be easily frustrated by an ill-disposed Executive, and that a formal compliance with the letter of the law, covering an entire disregard of its spirit, is the best performance that may be expected of the persons not abusing the executive power.

The remedy which common sense procribes for paralysis of the national will is, of course, annihilation of the paralyzing tumor. But if our national physicians omit to apply this remedy, the only alternative is, to work without the diseased member. If there is not enough in Congress to impeach and suspend the President, there may be still wisdom enough to refrain from adding to his power.

As long as Andrew Johnson yet remains unopposed from exercising the Presidential functions, all emanations by Congress, for the reconstruction of the Southern territory, will be worse than fruitless,—will bear poisonous fruit,—unless the execution of those emanations be confined to a power independent of Andrew Johnson's will.

But suppose the measure is only temporary—military rule is no fit school to train up people for self-government. It is a good measure to mould and fashion the subjection of the people to “the length of the foot that is to tread on their necks.” The experience of the past six years in Missouri shows that military rule, modified by permanent civil government, greatly道德地 moralized the spirit of self-reliance and independent personal effort necessary to preserve free institutions. So accustomed had the people become to run to an emancipated official for redress of wrong, instead of protecting themselves and depending upon their own courage for preserving the peace, that for more than a year after the surrender six armed regiments would frighten one hundred men out of their wits. I have myself known instances of persons travelling fifty miles to get the Governor to send troops to protect three or four hundred voters against the degradations of some dozen or thirteen thieving whites that ought to have been arrested or exterminated in half an hour after their appearance in the neighborhood. It took months to make the people understand that, in a republican government, the masses of the people must stand with their own right arms the civil authorities in protecting life and property against violence from thieves and murderers. With such results in Missouri, what must we expect in a more perfect rule in the South?

Republicanism can only be maintained where the people are self-reliant, and do their own voting and their own thinking. That has not yet been the condition of the non-represented States; and as soon as an opportunity seemingly offers for reconstructing their governments upon that basis, a Congress, with a majority of two-thirds, composed of men claiming to favor freedom, votes to clothe an officer of the Regular Army with power to deal with the people as he pleases. We all know liberty of the press will be only liberty to whitewash the enormities of military rule under the provisions of such a government. No military officer ever yet tolerated opposition to his will while in his power to prevent it. If the measure passed by the House of Representatives yesterday is passed into law, no man will be safe in uttering his convictions in those States.

It is the election of Supreme Judges by the people that would degrade the Bench. I answer—Tandy; I point to Chase. The only man whose election by the people would have been beyond dispute, is that illustrious judge whom we have trusted in almost every representative capacity, and who is as true to-day as when he was first chosen to an office in the gift of the popular electors. The best type of an appointed judge is the man whose name is honored in every slave-master's court in the rebellious States. And it is not true that judges are now appointed without respect to party and politics. They are, and ever have been, the representatives of the dominant political party of the nation.

Let them be chosen for not more than ten years, and we secure the representatives of modern rather than of the theories of the past genera-

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C. E. Moss.

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PARSON PILLSBURY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 14, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

The House of Representatives yesterday passed, by a vote of 109 to 53, a bill placing the lives, property and interests of one-third of the inhabitants of the American Republic in the power of Gen. Grant. And all that is done to remedy the incapacity and want of principle on the part of Congress, that Mr. Phillips very correctly denounces as a “Swindling Congress.” The idea that we have a National Legislature incapable of providing civil governments for the States, is not very flattering to the pride of the American people; but so it is. The great boasting Republican party, after six years of vacillation and misrule, has at last declared, so far as language of legislation can declare, that the American people are incapable of self-government, and that Gen. Grant alone can save the nation. For, say what we may, if no civil government can be devised for the States recently in rebellion, the same will be claimed to hold good throughout the North in less than three years.

What excuse is there for a Senate? I see none whatever. It is objected that France tried the system of a single chamber and failed. France tried a republic and failed. France tried a President and failed. France tried free speech and failed. France tried free press and failed. Shall we, therefore, give up liberty, and a republican form of government, and free speech, and universal suffrage?

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C. E. Moss.

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average condition of the colored people here, no doubt,

has done much to quench the pulse of Congress on the rights of that class of people in the District. The up-

per-tenth of the colored population here are much

excited over the fact that Mr. A. W. Wingfield, a colored man, who keeps the Senate Restaurant, in the Capitol, and Senators and strangers, visiting that branch, get their refreshments, refused to accommodate John M. Langston, the well-known Ohio lawyer, on account of his color. Mr. Langston, a few days before, had been admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court, and was moving about the Capitol with members of Congress when this insult insulted him and disgraced himself.

Mr. Morris, of Connecticut, had employed no ma-

nager in his service, and the Chief Magistrate of the service, of which

Miscellaneous Department.

SONG.

By JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The harp at Nature's advent strong
Has never ceased to play;
The song the stars of morning sung
Has never died away.

And prayer is made, and praise is given,
By all things near and far:

The ocean looketh up to heaven,
And mirrors every star.

Its waves are kneeling on the strand,
As kneels the human knee,

Their white looks bowing to the sand,
The priesthood of the sea!

They pour their glittering treasures forth,
Each gift of pearl they bring,

And all the listening hills of earth
Take up the song they sing.

The green earth sends her incense up
From many a mountain shrine;

The mists above the morning hills
Rise white as wings of prayer;

The altar curtains of the hills
Are sunset's purple air.

The winds with hymns of praise are loud,
Low or sobs of pain,

The thunder-organ of the cloud,
The dropping tears of rain.

With drooping head and branches crossed
The twilight forest grieves,

Or speaks with tongues of Penitence

From all its sunless leaves.

The blue sky is the temple's arch,
Its transept earth and air;

The music of its stony arches
The chorus of a prayer.

So Nature keeps the reverent frame
With which her years began,

And all her signs and voices shame
The prayerless heart of man.

"The Tent on the Beach."

FIRST GRENADIER OF FRANCE.

For many a year there was a touching and beautiful custom to be witnessed in a certain regiment of French grenadiers, which was meant to commemorate the heroism of a departed comrade.

When the companies assembled for parade and the roll was called, there was one name to which its owner could not answer—it was that of La Tour d'Avengne.

When it was called, the oldest sergeant present stood a pace forward, and, raising his hand to his cap, said proudly :

"Die on the field of honor."

For fourteen years this custom was continued, and only ceased when the restored Bourbons, to please their foreign masters, forbade everything that was calculated to preserve the spirit of the soldiers of France.

La Tour d'Avengne was not unworthy in life that honor thus paid him after his death. He was educated for the army, entered in 1787, and in 1781 served under the Duke de Crillon at the siege of Port Mahon. He served always with distinction, but constantly refused offers of promotion, saying that he was only fit for the command of a company of grenadiers; but, finally, the various grenadier companies being united, he found himself in command of a body of eight thousand men, while retaining only the rank of captain.

Hence he was known as the first grenadier of France.

But it is of one particular exploit of his that we wish to write, more than his career in general.

When he was forty years of age he went on a visit to a friend, not far from a section of the country that was soon to become the scene of a campaign. While there, he was busy in acquainting himself with the country, thinking it not unlikely that this knowledge might be of use to him, and while here the brave grenadier was astonished to learn that the war had suddenly shifted to that quarter, and that a regiment of Austrians was pushing on to occupy a narrow pass about ten miles from where he was staying, and the possession of which would give them an opportunity to prevent an important movement of the French, which was then on foot. They hoped to surprise this post, and were moving so rapidly upon it that they were not more than two hours distant from the place where he was staying, and which they would have to pass in their march. It matters not how he heard the news. It is sufficient to say that he determined at once to act upon it.

He had no idea of being captured by the enemy in their advance, and he set off for the pass. He knew that the pass was defended by a stout tower and a garrison of thirty men, and he hoped to be able to warn the men of their danger. He hastened on, and arriving there found the tower in a perfect condition. It had just been vacated by the garrison, who had heard of the approach of the Austrians, and had been seized with a panic terror, and had fled, leaving their arms, consisting of thirty excellent muskets.

La Tour d'Avengne gnashed his teeth with rage as he discovered this. Searching in the building, he found several boxes of ammunition which the cowards had not destroyed. For a moment he was in despair, but then, with a grim smile, he began to fasten the main door and pile against it such articles as he could find.

When he had done this, he loaded all the guns he could find and placed them together, with a good supply of ammunition, under the loop-holes that commanded the road by which the enemy must advance.

Then he ate heartily of the provisions he had brought with him, and sat down to wait. He had absolutely formed the heroic resolution to defend the tower alone against the enemy.

There were some things in his favor in such an undertaking. The pass was steep and narrow, and the enemy's troops could enter it only in double files, and in doing this would be fully exposed to the fire from the tower. The original garrison of thirty men could easily hold it against a division, and now one man was about to hold it against a regiment.

It was dark when La Tour d'Avengne searched the tower, and he had to wait some time for the enemy. They were longer in coming than he expected, and for a while he was tempted to believe they had abandoned the expedition.

About midnight, however, his practiced ear caught the tramp of feet. Every moment the sound came nearer, and at last he heard them entering the defile. Immediately he discharged a couple of muskets into the darkness to let them know that he knew of their presence and intentions, and he heard the quick, short commands of the officers, and from the sounds, he supposed the troops were retiring from the pass. The morning he was undisturbed. The Austrian commander, feeling assured that the garrison had been informed of his movements, and was prepared to receive him, saw that he could not surprise the post as he had hoped to do, and deemed it prudent to wait till daylight before making his attack.

At sunrise he summoned the garrison to surrender. A grenadier answered the summons.

"Say to your commander," he said, "in reply to the messenger, 'that this garrison will defend this pass to the last extremity.'

The officer who had borne the flag of truce retired, and in about ten minutes a piece of artillery was brought into the pass and opened on the tower. But to effect this the piece had to be placed directly in front of the tower, and within easy range of it. They had scarcely got the gun in position, when a rapid fire was opened on it from the tower, and continued with such marked effect that the piece was withdrawn after the second discharge, with loss of five men.

As the troops entered the defile they were received with a rapid and accurate fire, so that when they had passed over half the distance they had to traverse, they had lost fifteen men. Disheartened by this, they returned to the mouth of the defile.

Three more assaults were repulsed in this manner, and the enemy had lost forty-five men, of whom ten were killed.

The fire from the tower had been rapid and accurate, but the Austrian commander had noticed

plexed him, but at last he came to the conclusion that there was a number of loop-holes close together in the tower, so constructed as to command the ravine perfectly.

At sunset the last assault was made and repulsed, and at dark the Austrian commander sent a second summons to the garrison.

This time the answer was favorable. The garrison offered to surrender at sunrise the next morning if allowed to march out with their arms and return to the army un molested. After some hesitation, the terms were accepted.

Meantime La Tour d'Avengne had passed an anxious day in the tower. He had opened the fire with thirty loaded muskets; but had not been able to discharge them all. He had fired with surprising rapidity, but with surprised accuracy, for it was well known in the army that he had never thrown away a shot. He had determined to stand to his post until he had accomplished his end, which was to hold the place twenty-four hours, in order to allow the French Army time to complete its maneuver. After that he knew the pass would be of no consequence to the enemy.

When the demand for a surrender came to him after the last assault, he consented to it upon the conditions named.

The next day at sunrise the Austrian troops lined the pass in two files, extending from the mouth to the tower, leaving a space between them for the garrison to pass out.

The heavy door of the tower opened slowly, and in a few minutes a bronzed and scarred grenadier, literally loaded down with muskets, came out and passed down the line of troops. He walked with difficulty under his heavy load.

To the surprise of the Austrians no one followed him from the tower.

In astonishment the Austrian Colonel rode up to him, and asked in French, why the garrison did not come out.

"I am the garrison, Colonel," said the soldier proudly.

"What!" exclaimed the Colonel, "do you mean to tell me that you alone have held that tower against me?"

"I have had the honor, Colonel," was the reply.

"What possessed you to make such an attempt grenade?"

"The honor of France was at stake."

The Colonel gazed at him for a moment with undisguised admiration. Then, raising his cap, he said warmly :

"Grenadier, I salute you. You have proved yourself the bravest of the brave."

The officer caused all the arms which La Tour d'Avengne could not carry to be collected, and sent them all, with the grenadier, into the French lines, together with a note relating the whole affair.

When the knowledge of it came to the ears of Napoleon he offered to promote La Tour d'Avengne, but the latter declined to accept the promotion, saying he preferred to remain where he was.

The brave soldier met his death in an action at Auerhausen in June, 1800, and the simple and expressive scene at roll-call in his regiment was commenced and continued by the express command of the Emperor himself.

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45, but in all other periods, from 45 to 96, the difference was greater, and the rayne perfectly.

The tables of Dr. Stark show that, contrary to the common opinion, and notwithstanding the additional care and burdens of a family, the more regular and comfortable life of the husband gives him a great protection against the dangers that beset the bachelor, and adds to his longevity nearly 100 per cent. after 20, and about 50 per cent. after 30 years of age.

During the earlier years of married life, when the first children are born, and at the middle period, when the constitution goes through some changes, married women suffer a slight loss of life in comparison with their single sisters; but for them as well as for men, the convalescent state is, on the whole, the safest from danger, and increases their days on earth.

The association voted to publish this most important paper in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, through which it will reach all the medical profession and through them the whole community.

THE SORROWS OF MARY.

DEDICATED TO THE MOTHERS WHO HAVE LOST SONG IN THE WAR.

BY MRS. HARRIET EMMERSON STOWE.

I SAW, but my heart was wakening,
And out in my dreams I sped,
Through the streets of an ancient city,
Where Jesus, the Lord, lay dead.

He was lying all cold and low,
And the sepulchre was sealed,
And the women that bore him had
Had come from the holy field.

There is feasting in Pilate's palace,
There is revel in Herod's hall,
Where the late and the sounding instrument
To mirth and wassail call.

"What possessed you to make such an attempt
grenade?"

"The honor of France was at stake."

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